NDC
NIGERIA DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS

THE MANIFESTO

A FRESH START... ONE PEOPLE - ONE CROSS RIVER



JOHN UPAN ODEY

GOVERNORSHIP CANDIDATE,
CROSS RIVER 2027

WE PRODUCE. WE PROCESS. WE PROSPER.

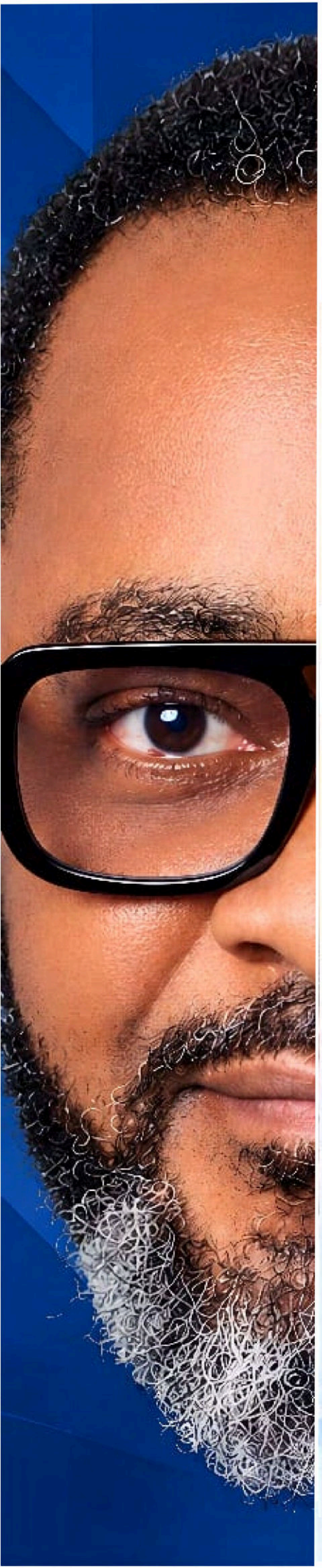


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PART I



THE MAN, THE MISSION, AND THE CROSS RIVER PROSPERITY AGENDA

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A New Direction for a State of Extraordinary Potential:



We are a state blessed with extraordinary advantages: fertile agricultural land, a strategic coastline, rich forests, globally recognized Tourism assets, a vibrant culture, abundant human talent, and communities with a long tradition of enterprise and resilience.

Yet, despite these advantages, too many Cross Riverians still struggle to translate our collective wealth into improved livelihoods.

- **Farmers produce but remain poor because value leaves the state.**
- **Young people graduate but struggle to find meaningful opportunities.**
- **Businesses spend too much on power and logistics.**
- **Communities with enormous tourism potential remain economically disadvantaged.**
- **Families continue to face challenges accessing quality healthcare, education and basic infrastructure.**

The challenge before us is not the absence of resources. The challenge is the absence of systems that convert resources into shared prosperity. This is the central question before Cross River:

How do we transform what we have into what we deserve?

The answer is a new economic and governance model built on productivity, value creation, accountability and partnership. This manifesto presents that model.

It is called:

THE CROSS RIVER PROSPERITY AGENDA:
Built around one simple philosophy.

"WE PRODUCE. WE PROCESS. WE PROSPER

OUR VISION

To build One Cross River- united in purpose, inclusive in opportunity, and stronger together.

To build A Fresh Start where every citizen matters, every community prospers, businesses thrive, and every generation has the opportunity to build a better future - leaving no one behind.

OUR MISSION

To create a government that people depend on and a government that empowers people to prosper.

OUR CORE BELIE

The government does not create wealth.

- **People create wealth.**
- **Farmers create wealth.**
- **Entrepreneurs create wealth.**
- **Workers create wealth.**
- **Innovators create wealth.**
- **Investors create wealth.**

The responsibility of government is to create an environment where citizens can succeed.

That means:

- Reliable electricity.
- Good roads.
- Quality healthcare.
- Modern education
- **Security.**
- Transparent institutions
- Investment-friendly policies.



THE TEN COMMITMENTS

Ten clear commitments to build a prosperous, secure and inclusive Cross River State.

01 | PRODUCTIVE ECONOMY
Grow a diversified, competitive economy that creates wealth and expands opportunities across all 18 LGAs.

02 | RELIABLE POWER
End the darkness economy with stable and affordable power for homes, businesses, schools and hospitals.

03 | AGRICULTURAL TRANSFORMATION
From farms to factories – build modern value chains in cocoa, rice, cassava, oil palm and fisheries to make Cross River a food and export powerhouse.

04 | JOBS THROUGH ENTERPRISE
Create 50,000 jobs through enterprise, skills development, MSME support and industrial growth.

05 | QUALITY HEALTHCARE
Accessible, affordable and reliable healthcare close to home for every Cross Riverian.

06 | MODERN EDUCATION AND SKILLS
Provide quality education, digital skills and practical training to prepare our people for the jobs of today and tomorrow.

07 | INFRASTRUCTURE FOR GROWTH
Build and maintain roads, bridges, ports, waterways and digital infrastructure that connect people to opportunity.

08 | TOURISM BEYOND CARNIVAL
Unlock our natural and cultural assets to create sustainable tourism, support communities and grow the creative economy.

09 | TRANSPARENT GOVERNMENT
Build a people-centred, accountable and digital government that earns public trust.

10 | SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT
Protect our environment, strengthen climate resilience and ensure inclusive growth for generations to come.



A MESSAGE FROM JOHN UPAN ODEY

Fellow Cross Riverians,

Our state has always been a place of possibility.

From the hardworking farmer in Boki and Etung, to the entrepreneur in Calabar, the fisherman in Bakassi, the trader in Ogoja, the teacher in Obudu, and the young professional building a future against all odds , Cross River has never lacked talent, courage or determination.

What we have lacked is not ability.

What we have lacked is a system that consistently transforms our abilities into prosperity.

For too long, many of our people have watched opportunities leave our communities.

Our agricultural products are produced here but processed elsewhere.

Our young people acquire education but often leave in search of opportunities elsewhere.

Our tourism assets attract visitors, yet many communities around them remain economically excluded.

Our natural resources create value, but too little of that value remains with our people.

This must change.

I believe Cross River has reached the point where we must make a fundamental choice.

We can continue with a system that manages scarcity.

Or we can build a system that creates abundance.

We can continue depending on government as the primary source of opportunity.

Or we can build an economy where citizens, businesses and communities become engines of growth.

I choose the second path.

I offer myself for service because I believe Cross River deserves leadership focused not only on governing today, but on building tomorrow.

My background has been shaped by systems, institutions, finance and economic development.

For more than two decades, I have worked in banking, financial services, risk management and institutional development, including experience with leading financial institutions such as Standard Chartered Bank and Union Bank.

I have seen how strong institutions create prosperity.

I have seen how weak systems limit opportunity.

I have learned a simple lesson:

Countries and communities do not prosper by accident. Prosperity is built deliberately.

My journey has also been shaped by my family heritage.

I come from Bebuabong Village in Obudu.

I am the son of the late Sir John Upan Odey Snr., an educationist, parliamentarian and community builder who believed deeply in the power of education and human development.

His life demonstrated that the greatest investment any society can make is investment in people.

That belief guides me today.

This manifesto is therefore not simply an election document.

It is a plan for rebuilding confidence, restoring opportunity and creating a productive economy.

It is a contract.

A contract between leadership and citizens.

A contract built on measurable goals, transparency and accountability.

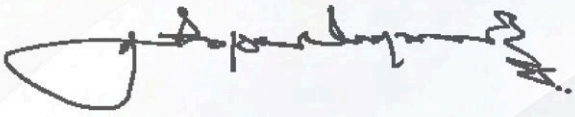
I ask Cross Riverians to judge us not by promises alone, but by our commitment to execution.

Together, we can build a state where:

Farmers become entrepreneurs.
Workers are respected and paid.
Young people find opportunity at home.
Businesses can grow.
Communities share in prosperity.
Government earns public trust.

The time has come for a new direction.

The time has come for A FRESH START... for we are ONE PEOPLE, ONE CROSS RIVER !



John Upan Odey
NDC Governorship Candidate,
Cross River State 2027

THE CROSS RIVER OPPORTUNITY

(A State Blessed With Everything Required for Prosperity)

Cross River possesses many of the foundations required to become one of Nigeria's most prosperous states.

We have:

Agricultural Strength

Our soil supports cocoa, rice, cassava, oil palm, fisheries, livestock and other agricultural products capable of supporting large-scale industries.

Tourism Advantage

From Obudu Mountain Resort to Agbokim Waterfalls, Afi Forest, Kwa Falls, the Calabar Carnival and our coastal communities, Cross River possesses globally competitive tourism assets.

Maritime Potential

Our coastline, waterways and location provide opportunities in fisheries, logistics, shipping services and the blue economy.

Human Capital

Our people are educated, creative and entrepreneurial.

Strategic Location

Cross River's proximity to national and international markets provides opportunities for trade and investment.

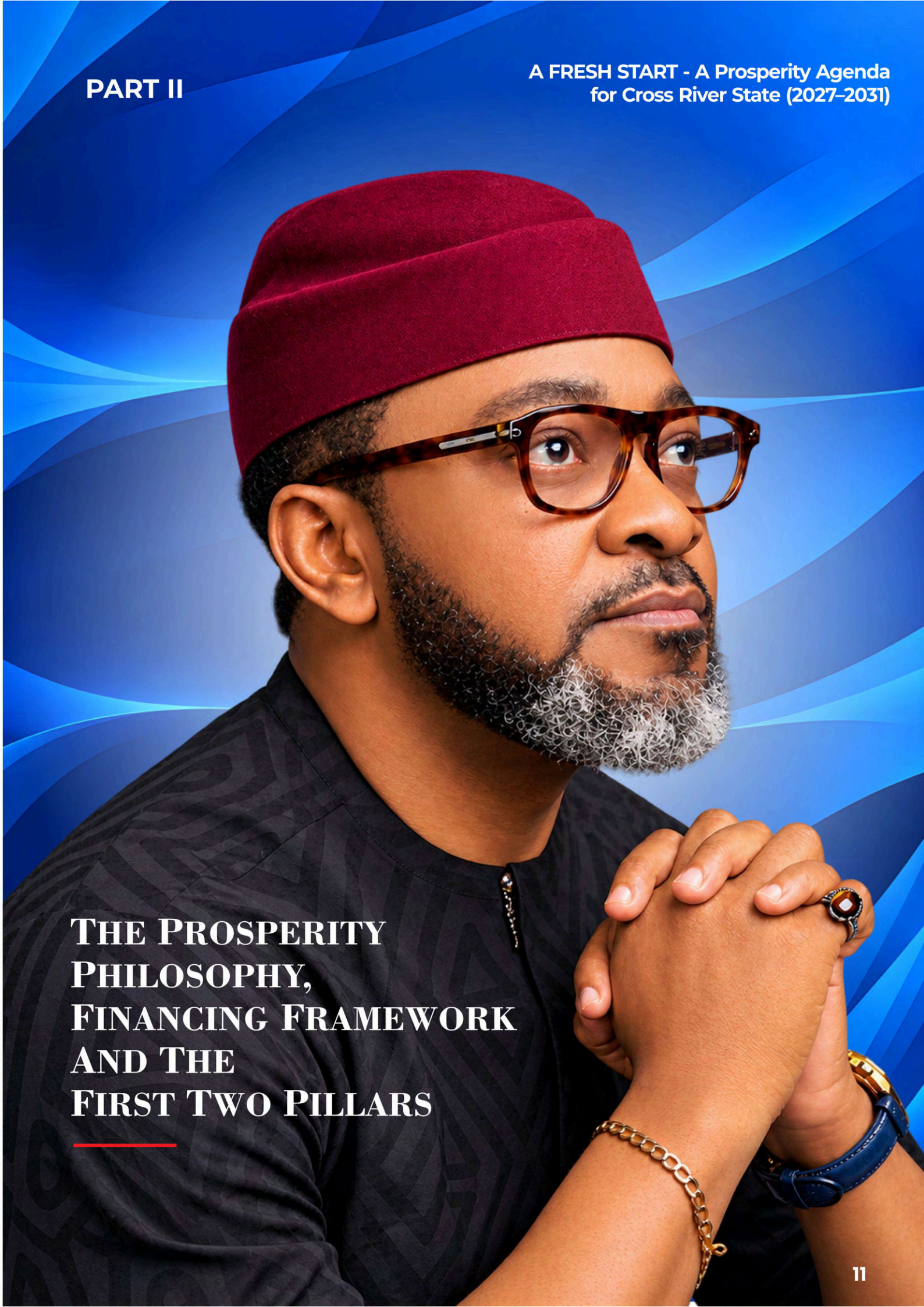
The question is not whether Cross River has potential.

The question is:

How do we unlock it?







The Prosperity Philosophy, Financing Framework And The First Two Pillars

THE CROSS RIVER PROSPERITY PHILOSOPHY

(From Managing Poverty to Creating Prosperity)

For too long, development conversations in Nigeria have focused on sharing what exists rather than expanding what is possible.

Government interventions often become centred on:

- Political appointments.*
- Temporary empowerment programmes.
- Short-term relief.
- Expanding public payrolls without expanding productivity.

While assistance may be necessary during difficult periods, no society becomes prosperous by permanently distributing scarcity.

A prosperous state must produce.
A prosperous state must process.
A prosperous state must create wealth.

This is the foundation of the Cross River Prosperity Agenda.

THE WEALTH CREATION MODEL:
WE PRODUCE. WE PROCESS. WE PROSPER.

WE PRODUCE

Cross River must maximize what we already produce:

- Cocoa.
- Rice.
- Cassava.
- Oil palm.
- Fish.
- Livestock.
- Tourism services.
- Creative products.

Production creates income.
But production alone is not enough.

WE PROCESS

The greatest economic opportunity lies beyond production.
A farmer who sells raw cocoa captures only a small part of the final value.

The processor who produces cocoa butter, chocolate, cosmetics and export products captures far more value.

The same applies to:

- Rice milling.
- Cassava processing.
- Palm oil refining.
- Fish processing.
- Tourism services.
- Digital products.

Our objective is simple:
Keep more value inside Cross River.

WE PROSPER

The final goal is not production statistics.

The goal is improved lives.

Success will be measured by:

- Higher incomes.
- Better jobs.
- Stronger businesses.
- Increased investment.
- Improved public services.
- Greater opportunities for young people.

Economic growth must translate into human prosperity.

OUR GOVERNING DOCTRINE

Keep Cross River Money in Cross River

Every policy decision will be guided by one question:

Does this decision increase economic value retained within Cross River?

This means:

- Supporting local processors.
- Buying locally produced goods where possible.
- Developing local suppliers.
- Promoting community participation.
- Encouraging investment that creates jobs.

Government will no longer measure success only by projects completed.

We will measure success by:

- Businesses created.
- Jobs sustained.
- Incomes increased.
- Communities transformed

CHAPTER FOUR



FINANCING THE CROSS RIVER PROSPERITY AGENDA

Spending Better, Not Simply Spending More

A credible development plan must answer a fundamental question:

How will it be financed?

The Cross River Prosperity Agenda will be built on disciplined financial management and strategic partnerships.

Government resources alone cannot transform a modern economy.

We will therefore pursue a diversified financing strategy.

1 Growing Internally Generated Revenue

A prosperous state requires a stronger revenue base. Our approach will be:

- Expanding economic activity rather than increasing burdens on citizens.
- Digitizing revenue collection.
- Closing leakages.
- Improving compliance.
- Supporting small businesses to grow into formal enterprises.

The objective is not aggressive taxation. The objective is economic expansion. When businesses grow, government revenue grows naturally.

2 Public–Private Partnerships

Government cannot and should not do everything alone. We will actively partner with:

- **Private investors.**
- **Financial institutions.**
- **Development partners**
- **Industry groups.**
- **Local entrepreneurs.**

Priority areas include:

- **Renewable energy.**
- **Agro-processing.**
- **Tourism.**
- **Transport infrastructure.**
- **Digital economy.**
- **Industrial clusters.**

3 Development Finance

Cross River will aggressively pursue development financing from:

- African Development Bank.
- World Bank.
- International Finance Corporation.
- Islamic Development Bank.
- Climate finance institutions.
- Regional development programmes.

Such funding will be directed toward productive projects with measurable outcomes.

4 Diaspora Investment Strategy

Cross Riverians around the world represent a major economic asset.

A Diaspora Investment Framework will:

- Connect investors with opportunities.
- Provide investment information.
- Support diaspora-owned enterprises
- Encourage technology transfer.

Our people abroad should become partners in building the Cross River economy.



5 Reforming State Assets

Cross River owns valuable assets.
Some have not delivered their potential.
We will undertake a transparent review of:

- Tourism assets.
- Commercial properties.
- Industrial facilities.
- Land resources.
- Investment holdings.

Assets must become productive.
Idle assets represent lost opportunities.

6 Transparency in Public Finance

Every major investment must demonstrate:

- Economic value.
- Social benefit.
- Financial sustainability.

Public money will be treated as a trust.
Citizens have the right to know:

What government spends.
Why it spends it.
What results are achieved.

PART III

THE NINE PILLARS OF PROSPERITY



POWER FIRST

THE PROMISE

We will not measure Power First by the number of poles erected.

We will measure it by the communities that receive electricity, the businesses that stay productive, the farms that can process, the schools that can learn, and the hospitals that can function.

By 2031, our ambition is a Cross River where electricity is increasingly available where people live, learn, work, and produce.

PART III

THE NINE PILLARS OF PROSPERITY

PILLAR ONE
POWER FIRST: ENDING THE DARKNESS ECONOMY



Power is the foundation of prosperity.

A farmer can not process produce efficiently without electricity. A small business can not compete when its operating costs are dominated by diesel. A student can not study effectively when electricity is unreliable. A hospital can not provide dependable care without dependable power.

For Cross River, electricity must therefore be treated as an economic infrastructure, not simply a utility.

Our goal is simple:

More communities connected.

More businesses powered.

More schools and hospitals are energised.

More productive activity driven by reliable electricity.

THE CHALLENGE

Electricity access remains uneven across Cross River, particularly in rural and under-served communities.

National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) data show substantial disparities in household electricity access across Local Government Areas.

For example, the baseline data recorded total household access levels of about 40.3% in Etung, 47.6% in Ikom, 43.5% in Obanliku and 17.7% in Boki, demonstrating the depth of the access gap in some parts of the state.

The problem is not only the absence of electricity infrastructure. Some communities have poles, transformers, or distribution infrastructure but still lack dependable supply.

In 2025, the Rural Electrification Agency commissioned a 440 kilowatt-peak interconnected mini-grid serving Etomi, Agbokim, Abia and Bendeghe in Etung Local Government Area — four communities specifically identified as underserved.

CROSS RIVER'S ELECTRICITY CHALLENGES ALSO INCLUDE:

01 Limited electricity access in rural communities.

02 Inadequate distribution infrastructure.

03 Unreliable supply where connections exist.

04 Dependence on diesel and petrol generators.

05 Inadequate power for businesses and agricultural processing.

06 Electricity challenges affecting schools and healthcare facilities.

07 Metering and billing concerns.

THE WAY FORWARD

The answer is not to wait for one source of electricity - Cross River needs a coordinated combination of grid expansion, mini-grids, renewable energy, and improved distribution infrastructure.

Cross River's electricity challenges also include:

- Limited electricity access in rural communities.
- Inadequate distribution infrastructure.
- Unreliable supply where connections exist.
- Dependence on diesel and petrol generators.
- Inadequate power for businesses and agricultural processing.
- Electricity challenges affecting schools and healthcare facilities.
- Metering and billing concerns.

The answer is not to wait for one source of electricity - Cross River needs a coordinated combination of grid expansion, mini-grids, renewable energy, and improved distribution infrastructure.



THE SOLUTION: THE 100 DAYS PLAN:

1. ESTABLISH THE CROSS RIVER POWER DELIVERY UNIT

Within the first 100 days, establish a dedicated Power Delivery Unit to:

- Map unserved and underserved communities.
- Identify communities requiring grid extension.
- Identify locations suitable for mini-grids and hybrid systems.
- Coordinate with electricity-sector agencies, utilities, and investors.
- Publish a Power Delivery Map.
- Track electricity projects and publish progress.

2. LAUNCH THE RURAL ELECTRIFICATION PROGRAM

Begin the first delivery cycle with:

- 180 underserved communities

to receive improved electricity access through:

- Grid extension.
- Mini-grids.
- Solar-hybrid systems.
- Distribution-network expansion.

Priority will be given to communities with long-standing electricity deficits and strong potential for economic activity.

3. DEPLOY 60 COMMUNITY MINI-GRIDS

Begin deployment or development of:

- 60 mini-grids

for communities where conventional grid extension is impractical or insufficient.

4. POWER PRODUCTIVE COMMUNITIES

Begin establishing Productive Power Zones around:

- Cocoa processing.
- Rice milling.
- Cassava processing.
- Oil palm.
- Fisheries and cold storage.
- Small manufacturing.
- Digital enterprises.

Power must translate into production, jobs, and income.

5. POWER SCHOOLS AND HOSPITALS

Begin an energy audit of public hospitals, healthcare facilities, and priority schools, followed by targeted deployment of:

- Solar-hybrid systems.
- Reliable backup power.
- Distribution upgrades.

6. IMPROVE METERING AND CONSUMER PROTECTION

Work with relevant electricity institutions to improve:

- Meter availability.
- Billing transparency.
- Consumer protection.
- Complaint resolution.

POWER FIRST SCORECARD BY 2031

The four-year program will build on the annual delivery targets.

720 COMMUNITIES

Underserved communities receive improved electricity access through grid extension, mini-grids, or hybrid systems.

240 MINI-GRIDS

Community mini-grids deployed or under development.

300,000 METERS

Installed or facilitated through the program.

PRODUCTIVE POWER ZONES

Productive Power Zones operating around priority agricultural, industrial, fisheries, and digital-economy clusters across the state.

POWERED PUBLIC SERVICES

Priority public hospitals and healthcare facilities equipped with reliable backup or alternative power, alongside solar-hybrid solutions for priority schools.

ANNUAL PUBLIC REPORTING

There will be annual public reporting of:

- Communities connected
- Mini-grids delivered
- Meters facilitated
- Public facilities powered
- Productive-power projects delivered



PART III
THE NINE PILLARS OF
PROSPERITY

PILLAR TWO

WEALTH THROUGH AGRICULTURE: FROM FARMS TO FACTORIES



Agriculture Must Become an Industry

Cross River has enormous agricultural advantages.

But for too long, we have remained producers of raw materials while others capture the greatest value.

The farmer produces.
The trader transports.
The processor profits.
This model must change.

Agriculture must become:

- Industrial.
- Commercial.
- Technology-driven.
- Export-oriented.



THE AGRICULTURAL TRANSFORMATION AGENDA

1 Cocoa Industrialization

Cross River has one of Nigeria's strongest cocoa-producing regions.

Yet too much value leaves the state.

We will support:

- Cocoa aggregation centres.
- Storage facilities.
- Quality improvement.
- Traceability systems.
- Processing partnerships.
- Export readiness.

1. Agricultural Value Chains

The goal:
From cocoa beans to cocoa products.

2. Rice Value Chain Development

Northern Cross River has significant rice potential.

We will promote:

- Rice aggregation.
- Modern milling.
- Storage.
- Packaging.
- Market linkages.

Farmers should earn more from what they produce.

3. Cassava Industrialization

Cassava is more than food.
It is an industrial resource.

Opportunities include:

- Cassava flour.
- Industrial starch.
- Animal feed.
- Ethanol production.

4. Oil Palm Development

We will support:

- Palm processing.
- Small and medium refineries.
- Palm kernel industries.
- Cooperative production.

5. Bakassi Fisheries Economic Zone

Our coastal communities possess enormous potential.

We will develop:

- Fish landing facilities.
- Cold storage.
- Processing centres.
- Packaging.
- Market access.

Fishermen should become participants in a modern marine economy.

6. Farmer Prosperity Programme

Farmers will receive support through:

- Cooperatives.
- Access to finance.
- Extension services.
- Improved seedlings.
- Market information.
- Digital platforms.

The objective is not merely more production.

The objective is higher farmer income.



AGRICULTURE SCORECARD BY 2031

We will pursue:

- Major agricultural processing investments.
- Increased farmer incomes.
- Expanded cocoa value chains.
- Reduced post-harvest losses.
- More agricultural exports.
- Thousands of jobs through agro-industrialization.

PART III
THE NINE PILLARS OF
PROSPERITY

PILLAR THREE

INFRASTRUCTURE THAT CREATES WEALTH



THE CHALLENGE

For too many Cross Riverians, infrastructure is not an abstract government issue. It is the difference between an opportunity and a missed opportunity.

It is the farmer who works hard to produce food but struggles to get it to market because the road from the farm is impassable.

It is the trader whose goods cost more because transportation is expensive.

It is the young person with a business idea but no reliable electricity to make it work.

It is the family that watches a road deteriorate year after year, knowing that the same journey that should take minutes can become a struggle.

It is the community with economic potential that remains disconnected from the opportunities around it.

Cross River is blessed with fertile agricultural land, cocoa, tourism, waterways, talented people and communities capable of producing wealth. But potential cannot become prosperity when people, products and businesses cannot move efficiently.

The State has recognised persistent problems with rural roads, including inadequate funding, poor maintenance and construction concerns. The severely degraded Ikom–Boki–Obudu corridor has also highlighted how poor connectivity can isolate agricultural communities and constrain commerce and tourism.

Electricity presents another barrier. Prolonged power interruptions continue to affect households and businesses in parts of tine State, increasing the cost of operating businesses and making it harder for enterprises to grow.

Cross Riverians do not need infrastructure simply for the sake of infrastructure. They deserve roads that take their produce to markets, electricity that allows their businesses to operate, water that supports healthy communities, and connectivity that opens the door to investment and opportunity.

Infrastructure must no longer end with construction.
It must begin with one question:

"How does this improve the life and livelihood of a Cross Riverian?"

The lesson is clear:
Infrastructure should not be measured by the amount of concrete poured. It should be measured by the economic activity it unlocks.

WHAT CROSS RIVERIANS DESERVE

Cross Riverians deserve infrastructure designed around economic opportunity, not infrastructure projects considered in isolation.

1 Roads that connect production to markets

Farmers should not lose income because crops cannot reach markets efficiently.

Cross River deserves a road network that connects:



Priority should therefore be given to farm-access roads, rural bridges, drainage and strategic economic corridors serving agricultural, industrial and tourism areas.



2 Reliable power for productive enterprise



Electricity should be treated as economic infrastructure, not simply household infrastructure.

A farmer should be able to process agricultural produce.

A small manufacturer should be able to operate machinery.

A cold-chain operator should be able to preserve food.

A hotel should be able to operate reliably.

A technology entrepreneur should be able to work without depending entirely on diesel generators.

Cross Riverians deserve an electricity system designed around productive use.

3 Water infrastructure that supports communities and businesses



Reliable water is essential not only for households but also for agriculture, food processing, hospitality, healthcare and manufacturing.

Water infrastructure should therefore be planned around both human need and economic activity.

4 Markets and logistics infrastructure



Roads alone do not create a functioning value chain.

Producers also need aggregation centres, storage, markets, processing facilities, loading areas and reliable transportation.

Infrastructure investment should therefore follow the movement of goods and people.

5 Infrastructure that unlocks Cross River's geographic and economic advantages



Cross River has agricultural, tourism, maritime and border-trade opportunities.

Infrastructure should connect these assets to actual commercial activity.

The State's recent push for expanded marine transportation and the proposed Uyo–Calabar rail corridor demonstrates the wider potential for integrated transportation infrastructure.

WHAT THE JOHN UPAN ODEY ADMINISTRATION WILL DO

1. Build an Economic Infrastructure Plan for Cross River

The John Upan Odey administration will establish an Economic Infrastructure Plan that prioritises projects according to their ability to:

- create jobs;
- reduce the cost of moving goods;
- connect producers to markets;
- support industrial and commercial activity;
- unlock private investment;
- improve tourism access; and
- expand economic opportunities across the 18 Local Government Areas.

Every major infrastructure project will therefore have an identifiable economic purpose, beneficiary group, funding model and measurable outcome.

2. Connect Farms to Markets

The administration will prioritise the rehabilitation and construction of farm-access roads, bridges, culverts and drainage systems in major agricultural production areas.

The objective is not simply to construct roads.

The objective is to create reliable economic corridors connecting agricultural communities to:

farms → aggregation → processing → markets.

The existing Cross River Rural Access Roads Authority framework provides an institutional foundation for this approach.

3. Establish an Infrastructure Maintenance Culture

New infrastructure cannot become another cycle of construction followed by deterioration.

The administration will introduce planned preventive maintenance for state-owned infrastructure, with roads, bridges, drainage systems, public water facilities and other strategic assets placed on maintenance schedules.

Projects will be designed with their whole-life cost in mind: construction, operation, maintenance and eventual rehabilitation.

4. Develop Productive Power Infrastructure

The administration will use the State's electricity-sector framework to expand reliable electricity for areas where power can directly support economic activity.

Priority will be given to:

- agricultural production zones;
- agro-processing clusters;
- markets;
- industrial and commercial areas;
- tourism destinations;
- healthcare facilities; and
- educational and technology centres.

The policy direction will be power for production, not simply power for consumption.

Where appropriate, the administration will pursue partnerships with private investors and development-finance institutions to finance generation, distribution and decentralised energy solutions.

Cross River already has a state electricity policy and legal framework supporting state-level participation in electricity generation and distribution.

5. Build Infrastructure Around Agro-Industrial Clusters

Infrastructure investment will be deliberately connected to the agricultural transformation agenda.

Where agricultural production is concentrated, infrastructure planning will consider the complete economic chain:

Production → Processing → Storage → Transportation → Market.

This approach builds on evidence from existing Cross River programmes where farm roads, processing centres and power infrastructure have been combined to support agricultural enterprises.

6. Make Water Infrastructure Reliable and Sustainable

The administration will prioritise the rehabilitation and sustainability of water systems.

Rather than measuring success by the number of boreholes drilled, performance will be measured by the number of functional water systems delivering reliable service.

Solar-powered systems will be considered where they provide a more sustainable operating model, particularly in communities where fuel-dependent systems have proven difficult to maintain.

This responds directly to the State's documented experience with hundreds of previously drilled boreholes becoming non-functional.

7. Use Public-Private Partnerships to Unlock Large Infrastructure

Large infrastructure projects should not automatically depend on government borrowing or annual budget allocations.

Where commercially viable, the administration will structure Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) and other financing arrangements to bring private capital, technical expertise and long-term asset management into infrastructure development as government will retain responsibility for regulation, public interest and performance oversight.

The objective will be:

Public resources + private capital + transparent contracts + measurable outcomes.

8. Build Infrastructure That Supports Tourism

Tourism infrastructure will focus on making destinations economically accessible.

Priority will be given to infrastructure that improves:

- access roads;
- electricity;
- water;
- sanitation;
- visitor facilities;
- connectivity; and
- links between tourism destinations and local businesses.

The objective is to ensure that tourism infrastructure creates income not only for large operators but also for transporters, farmers, artisans, food vendors, hospitality businesses and local communities.

INFRASTRUCTURE THAT CREATES WEALTH SCORECARD BY 2031:

THE ULTIMATE 2031 SCORECARD

By the end of the first term, the administration should be able to demonstrate that:

- Farmers can move their produce more efficiently.
- Businesses have better access to reliable power.
- More agricultural products can be processed within Cross River.
- Communities have more reliable water infrastructure.
- Tourism destinations are better connected to economic activity.
- Strategic roads are maintained rather than repeatedly abandoned and reconstructed.
- Every Local Government Area has infrastructure priorities linked to its economic potential.
- Private capital is being mobilised for viable infrastructure projects.
- Citizens can see what government is building, how much it costs and whether it was delivered.
- Most importantly, infrastructure investment can be demonstrated to have reduced barriers to production, trade, investment and job creation.



THE PILLAR'S 2031 PROMISE

By 2031, Cross River will measure infrastructure not by kilometres of concrete or the number of projects commissioned, but by the wealth, businesses, jobs and opportunities that infrastructure makes possible.

THE 2031 TEST:

By 2031, the question should not simply be:
"How many roads did we build?"

It should be:

- How many businesses can now operate because of those roads?
- How much agricultural produce reaches markets more efficiently?
- How many communities have reliable productive power?
- How many enterprises can process, store and transport their products?
- How much private investment has infrastructure unlocked?
- How many jobs and livelihoods have become more viable because infrastructure reduced the cost of doing business?

That is the standard by which infrastructure should be judged.

INFRASTRUCTURE THAT CREATES WEALTH

Build where people produce.

Connect where people trade.

Power where people work.

Provide water where people live and produce.

Maintain what we build.

Measure what infrastructure creates.

2031 OUTCOME

A Cross River where infrastructure is no longer simply something government builds, but an economic system that helps Cross Riverians produce more, move more, process more, trade more and earn more.

PART III
THE NINE PILLARS OF
PROSPERITY

PILLAR FOUR

HEALTHCARE CLOSE TO HOME



THE CHALLENGE

For a Cross Riverian, getting sick should not mean travelling for hours, selling belongings, borrowing money or watching a treatable condition become an emergency.

For a pregnant woman in a rural community, healthcare should not depend on whether there is a functioning facility nearby.

For a mother with a sick child, the nearest Primary Healthcare Centre should not be a building without the staff, medicines, equipment, water or electricity needed to provide care.

For a young person, illness should not mean losing days of work or falling deeper into debt simply because affordable healthcare is out of reach.

Yet these remain real barriers. Evidence from Cross River points to non-functional PHCs, inadequate staffing, poor infrastructure, shortages of medicines and equipment, and funding constraints. - [Cross River State News Review on Health Sector]

And with the State's current baseline showing 95% out-of-pocket dependency, getting sick can still place a heavy financial burden on ordinary families. - [CRS Universal Health Coverage- Quality Healthcare for All]

Cross Riverians deserve healthcare that comes closer to them not a healthcare system that asks them to travel farther when they are already at their most vulnerable.

- **The staffing gap:** Nurses and midwives remain a critical constraint. A hospital cannot provide safe maternity or surgical care without the people to operate it.
- **The readiness gap:** Hospitals must have reliable electricity, water, oxygen, blood, anaesthesia, emergency equipment and functioning theatres when patients need them.
- **The referral gap:** A patient should not be referred from one facility only to discover that the receiving hospital cannot receive them, or that transport is unavailable.
- **The financial gap:** Emergency care should not become a choice between treatment and the family's ability to produce cash immediately.
- **The maintenance gap:** Equipment purchased today must continue working tomorrow.
- **The data gap:** Hospital performance must be measured and acted upon, not simply recorded.

Our objective is therefore not to build hospitals simply for the sake of having more buildings. The objective is to build a secondary healthcare system that works- **TO BUILD A HEALTHCARE CLOSE TO HOME.**



THE SOLUTION

A 48-MONTH SECONDARY HEALTHCARE PROGRAMME

Our proposed programme will create a dependable secondary-care layer between revitalised Primary Healthcare Centres and tertiary healthcare.

It will be implemented through four overlapping phases:

1] ANCHOR : MAKE WHAT EXISTS WORK

Our first priority is to make existing public general hospitals reliably operational.

The ODEY-ARCHIBONG Health care close to home [HCCTH] programme will:

- Strengthen the Hospitals Management Board.
- Conduct a 30-day readiness audit of every public secondary facility.
- Prioritise eight hospitals for immediate improvement.
- Recruit and deploy a minimum of 200 nurses and midwives in Year 1.
- Strengthen anaesthesia and theatre teams.
- Keep oxygen plants operational.
- Improve hospital pharmacy and essential-drug availability.
- Establish minimum power and water standards for hospitals providing Comprehensive Emergency Obstetric and Newborn Care (CEmONC).

Our principle is simple:

No hospital should be considered successful because a building has been renovated. It should be considered successful because patients can receive dependable care inside it.

2. LIFELINE : CONNECT COMMUNITIES TO CARE

Our programme will create a functioning referral corridor between Primary Healthcare Centres and general hospitals.

This will include:

- One standard referral protocol for public Primary Healthcare Centres and general hospitals.
- Ambulances positioned across designated locations.
- Emergency transport partnerships for hard-to-reach communities.
- Emergency obstetric care arrangements across public general hospitals.
- Faster processing of insurance claims.
- Hospital blood banks in Calabar, Ogoja, Ikom and Ugep.
- A dedicated trauma-care package along the Calabar–Ikom–Ogoja corridor.

The objective is to reduce the dangerous gap between deciding that a patient needs help and actually getting that patient to the right care.

3. REACH -CLOSE THE GAPS

The third phase will expand dependable secondary healthcare across the three senatorial zones.

The programme will:

- Commission Ikom General Hospital as the Central Zonal Hospital when fully staffed and ready.
- Complete priority abandoned works, beginning with Akpabuyo, followed by Boki and Etung.
- Establish formal partnerships with functioning mission hospitals.
- Expand specialist services outside Calabar.
- Strengthen dialysis, surgery, obstetrics, paediatrics and other priority services.
- Introduce residency and internship opportunities in designated state hospitals in affiliation with the University of Calabar Teaching Hospital (UCTH).

The principle is:
Complete what has been started, staff what has been completed, and only open facilities that are ready to serve patients safely.

4. HOLDFAST : MAKE THE GAINS LAST

Healthcare improvement must not disappear when a project is commissioned.

The programme will establish:

- A 40-item secondary-care quality standard.
- Twice-yearly hospital quality inspections.
- A workforce pipeline tied to actual vacancies.
- Rural retention incentives.
- Zone-based maintenance contracts.
- Simple electronic hospital registers and weekly reporting.
- A publicly reported healthcare performance scorecard every six months.

The aim is to make quality, workforce, financing and maintenance part of the routine operation of government, rather than temporary projects.

HEALTHCARE SCORECARD BY 2031

By 2031, progress will be measured by what patients can actually experience inside the healthcare system.

1. FUNCTIONING SECONDARY HOSPITALS

At least 12 public secondary healthcare facilities will meet the established secondary-care quality standard.

2. EMERGENCY MATERNAL AND NEWBORN CARE

At least 8 public hospitals will be certified Comprehensive Emergency Obstetric and Newborn Care-ready within the first 12 months.

3. A STRONGER NURSING WORKFORCE

The secondary-care nurse vacancy rate will be reduced by 50 percent from the 2026 baseline, supported by recruitment, rural incentives and workforce development.

4. FASTER REFERRALS

The median time from a Primary Healthcare Centre referral call to arrival at a CEmONC hospital will be:

- 90 minutes or less in the southern and central zones;
- 120 minutes or less in the highlands.

5. RELIABLE AMBULANCE COVERAGE

Ambulance availability will reach at least 80 percent of days at the seven designated ambulance locations.

6. ACCESS TO BLOOD

Functional hospital blood banks will operate in Calabar, Ogoja, Ikom and Ugep, with all four passing a basic quality audit.

7. PROTECTION DURING EMERGENCIES

A defined emergency and maternity healthcare package will operate across public general hospitals, with patients covered under the programme protected from unofficial additional payments.

8. SPECIALIST CARE CLOSER TO HOME

At least 12 visiting-consultant clinic days every month will be provided outside Calabar.

9. EXPANDED DIALYSIS ACCESS

Dialysis services will be available at a minimum of two public sites — Calabar and Ogoja.

10. A FUNCTIONAL CENTRAL ZONAL HOSPITAL

Ikom General Hospital will be commissioned and CEmONC-certified when the required staffing, equipment and operational conditions are in place.

11. COMPLETION OF PRIORITY HOSPITAL PROJECTS

Akpabuyo, Boki and Etung will be addressed through a sequenced completion programme, with facilities opened only when the minimum clinical teams required for safe operation are available.

12. STRONGER PARTNERSHIPS

Four formal service-level agreements will operate with designated mission hospitals to expand secondary-care capacity in underserved areas.

13. RELIABLE HOSPITAL INFRASTRUCTURE

Zonal hospitals will achieve at least 90 percent uptime for oxygen, power and autoclaves through structured maintenance contracts.

14. MEASURABLE QUALITY

Hospitals will undergo structured quality inspections twice every year against a defined 40-item secondary-care standard covering infection prevention, theatre safety, maternity, pharmacy, diagnostics, patient rights, waste management and fire safety.

15. IMPROVING MATERNAL OUTCOMES

Institutional maternal mortality in public general hospitals will be placed on a published downward trend for three consecutive years, supported by systematic review of maternal deaths and corrective action.

16. PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY

Every six months, the Hospitals Management Board will publish a public healthcare scorecard covering key indicators including:

- Caesarean Section rates, stillbirths, referral acceptance, insurance claims paid and nurse vacancies by hospital.

THE PROMISE

By 2031, we will build a secondary healthcare system in Cross River that works when people need it most.

We will ensure that hospitals are not merely buildings, but functioning centres of care — staffed, equipped, supplied, connected and accountable.

We will work to ensure that:

- A woman in labour can reach a functioning theatre with trained medical personnel, blood, oxygen and reliable power.
- A child facing a serious illness can receive timely emergency care closer to home.
- An accident victim can access emergency surgery, blood and trauma care without unnecessary delay.
- Patients are not routinely forced to leave their communities or the state to access essential specialist services.
- Primary Healthcare Centres are connected to properly equipped receiving hospitals through an effective referral and ambulance system.
- Nurses, midwives, doctors and other healthcare professionals have the support and working conditions necessary to serve communities across the state.
- Emergency care is not denied because a vulnerable family cannot produce cash at the hospital door.
- Hospitals have reliable power, water, oxygen, essential medicines and functioning equipment.
- Mission hospitals that already provide essential services can become strategic partners in expanding access to secondary healthcare.
- Every public hospital is measured by clear standards and held accountable for its performance.

THE PROMISE

Our promise is not to build hospitals for the sake of building hospitals.

Our promise is to make healthcare work.

By 2031, every investment, every reform and every healthcare decision will be measured against one fundamental question:

When a Cross Riverian needs urgent medical care, will the system be ready?

We will build a healthcare system where the answer is yes.

A healthier Cross River.
A safer Cross River.
A Cross River where quality secondary healthcare is closer to the people who need it.
A healthcare close to home.

No resident should be more than one emergency transfer away from skilled care.





PILLAR FIVE

EDUCATION, SKILLS & THE 50,000 JOBS PLAN

THE CHALLENGE

For many young Cross Riverians, the painful question is not "Can I work?" but "Where can I find an opportunity to build a life here?"

A young person can spend years in school, graduate with a certificate and still struggle to find a job that matches what they studied.

Research among young migrants in Calabar found that 77.5% identified the search for work as a major reason for migration, while inadequate rural infrastructure and limited opportunities also contributed. [CEMGS JOURNAL- Vol.6- Issue 1- Article 10]

Research on Cross River's skills programmes has identified skill-job mismatch, limited accessibility and inadequate support as continuing constraints.

There is also a schooling challenge. The State is currently working to bring out-of-school children back into education, while recent teacher-development programmes have been introduced to address learning gaps.

The problem is not simply unemployment. It is the gap between education, practical skills, enterprise and actual economic opportunity.

Meanwhile, Cross River already has underutilised industrial and agricultural assets capable of supporting cottage and small-scale industries from cassava and palm-oil processing to garment production and rice processing.

Cross River should not be a place young people feel they must leave to find their future.

A child should be able to receive a quality education here.

A young graduate should be able to acquire a marketable skill here.

An artisan should be able to build a viable business here.

A farmer should be able to process and sell more of what they produce here.

The goal is not simply to keep young people in Cross River - the goal is to make Cross River a place where young people can build a future.

THE SOLUTION:

1. HUMAN CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT FIRST

Build a continuous human-capital development pipeline connecting basic education → secondary education → technical skills → entrepreneurship → employment. (Design with INFOGRAPHICS)

2. VOCATIONAL HUB IN EVERY LGA

Establish a functional Vocational and Enterprise Hub in each of the 18 Local Government Areas, offering market-relevant training such as construction trades, automobile repair, fashion, food processing, agriculture, digital skills and other locally viable trades.

3. THE 50,000 JOBS 100 DAY PLAN

Create 50,000 direct and facilitated employment opportunities by 2031, combining public-private investment, apprenticeships, enterprise development, cottage industries, digital work and expansion of existing businesses.



4. INVEST IN COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

Support small-scale processing and manufacturing around Cross River's existing economic assets—cocoa, cassava, rice, palm oil, fisheries, garments, food processing and other locally viable value chains.

The objective is simple:
Produce here. Process here. Employ here. Sell beyond Cross River.

5. SKILLS THAT LEAD TO INCOME

Training will be linked to actual market demand, equipment, apprenticeships, finance and business support—not certificates alone.

6. CONNECT YOUTH TO THE DIGITAL ECONOMY

Expand digital, technology and remote-work skills so Cross Riverian talent can earn from national and international markets without necessarily leaving the State.

THE 2031 SCORECARD

By 2031:

- ✓ 200,000 jobs and employment opportunities created or facilitated.
- ✓ 18 functional Vocational & Enterprise Hubs—one in every LGA.
- ✓ At least 100, 000 young people trained in market-relevant technical, vocational, digital and entrepreneurial skills.
- ✓ Cottage and small-scale industries established or supported across priority agricultural and creative value chains.
- ✓ A state-wide apprenticeship and enterprise-placement programme connecting trained youths to employers and businesses.
- ✓ Every LGA linked to at least one identified economic value chain with skills and enterprise support.
- ✓ Annual tracking of jobs created, businesses supported, trainees employed and enterprises surviving beyond their first year.



PILLAR SIX

TOURISM, CULTURE AND THE CREATIVE ECONOMY

FROM A SEASONAL FESTIVAL ECONOMY TO A YEAR-ROUND PROSPERITY INDUSTRY

Cross River's Untapped Advantage

Cross River is one of Nigeria's most naturally gifted states.

We possess:

- Some of Nigeria's most beautiful landscapes.
- A globally recognised cultural heritage.
- Unique biodiversity.
- Coastal assets.
- Mountain ecosystems.
- Historic communities.
- Creative talent.

Yet tourism has not fully delivered the prosperity it should create.

The challenge is not that Cross River lacks attractions.

The challenge is that tourism has not been developed as a complete economic system.

Tourism must move beyond celebration.

Tourism must become an industry.

THE NEW TOURISM PHILOSOPHY

The Cross River Tourism Agenda will be built on three principles:

1. Tourism Must Create Local Wealth

Communities hosting tourism assets must become beneficiaries.

Tourism revenue should support:

- Local businesses.
- Community infrastructure.
- Youth employment.
- Environmental protection.

The people who protect our heritage must share in the value it creates.

2. Tourism Must Work All Year

A successful tourism economy cannot depend on one festival season.

We will develop:

- Adventure tourism.
- Eco-tourism.
- Cultural tourism.
- Conference tourism.
- Sports tourism.
- Marine tourism.
- Research tourism.

The goal:
365 days of tourism activity.

3. Tourism Must Connect With Other Sectors

Tourism should create demand for:

- Agriculture.
- Transportation.
- Hospitality.
- Entertainment.
- Fashion.
- Arts and crafts.
- Local manufacturing.

A tourist economy must become a local economic multiplier.

4. Tourism Must Be Sustainable and Inclusive

Our tourism development will protect our natural and cultural heritage while creating opportunities for all communities.

We will ensure:

- Environmental conservation.
- Community participation.
- Fair distribution of benefits.
- Responsible tourism practices.

Tourism growth must leave a positive legacy for future generations.

OBUDU: FROM DESTINATION TO ECONOMIC ENGINE

Obudu Mountain Resort remains one of Africa's most iconic tourism locations.

Its future requires:

- Professional management.
- Private-sector participation.
- Modern facilities.
- Year-round activities.

The Obudu Tourism Renewal Programme will promote:

- Mountain tourism.
- Hiking.
- Adventure sports.
- Conferences.
- Wellness tourism.
- Educational tourism.

The objective:

Transform Obudu from a seasonal attraction into a sustainable tourism economy.

CALABAR CARNIVAL: FROM EVENT TO INDUSTRY

Carnival Calabar has become one of Africa's most recognised cultural events.
But its economic potential extends far beyond December.

We will transform Carnival into a year-round creative industry through:

- Costume production enterprises.
- Music development.
- Film and media production.
- Dance academies.
- Event management companies.
- Fashion businesses.

The Carnival should not only entertain.
It should employ.

AGBOKIM, AFI AND OUR ECO-TOURISM ASSETS

Cross River's forests are among the most important ecological assets in Africa.

The state is home to exceptional biodiversity, including rare wildlife species.

Conservation and development must work together.

We will promote:

- Eco-lodges.
- Community tourism enterprises.
- Conservation employment.
- Research partnerships.
- Nature education programmes.

Protecting our environment should create income, not poverty.

BAKASSI AND THE BLUE TOURISM ECONOMY

Cross River's coastline presents enormous opportunities.

Bakassi can become a centre for:

- Coastal tourism.
- Fisheries tourism.
- Maritime recreation.
- Cultural tourism.
- Waterfront enterprise.

The state's relationship with the sea must become an economic advantage.

THE CREATIVE ECONOMY REVOLUTION

Cross River has talented:

- Musicians.
- Artists.
- Filmmakers.
- Designers.
- Writers.
- Digital creators.

Talent without opportunity leads to migration.

We will establish mechanisms to support:

- Creative enterprise.
- Training.
- Financing.
- Production spaces.
- Market access.

Creativity is not merely entertainment. Creativity is an industry.

TOURISM SCORECARD BY 2031

We will measure success through:

- ✔ Increased tourist arrivals.
- ✔ More year-round tourism activity.
- ✔ Greater local business participation.
- ✔ More tourism jobs.
- ✔ Increased private investment.
- ✔ Stronger conservation outcomes.



PILLAR SEVEN

TRANSPARENT AND DIGITAL GOVERNMENT-

EVERY NAIRA ACCOUNTED FOR. EVERY PROJECT TRACKED. EVERY LEADER RESPONSIBLE.



Government Exists to Serve Citizens

The purpose of government is not power.
The purpose of government is service.

Citizens deserve to know:

- How public money is spent.
- What projects are being executed.
- Who is responsible.
- Whether promises are fulfilled.

Trust cannot be demanded.
Trust must be earned.

A NEW CULTURE OF ACCOUNTABILITY

The Cross River Prosperity Government will be built on:

- Transparency.
- Measurement.
- Public reporting.
- Performance management.

Government will move from:

- Promises → Performance
- Announcements → Results
- Budgets → Outcomes

THE CROSS RIVER OPEN GOVERNMENT PLATFORM

A public digital platform will provide citizens with access to:

1. Budget Information

Including:

- Revenue sources.
- Spending priorities.
- Development investments.

2. Project Tracking

Citizens will be able to see:

- Project location.
- Contractor.
- Cost.
- Timeline.
- Completion status.

3. Service Delivery Monitoring

Performance indicators will track:

- Roads.
- Schools.
- Healthcare.
- Water.
- Electricity.
- Jobs.

ENDING WASTE AND LEAKAGES

Every naira saved from waste can become:

- A classroom.
- A health facility.
- A road.
- A power project.

We will strengthen:

- Payroll verification.
- Digital systems.
- Procurement monitoring.
- Internal controls.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT EMPOWERMENT

Development cannot happen only from Calabar.

Our 18 Local Government Areas must become engines of development.

Each LGA will develop:

- Economic priorities.
- Service delivery targets.
- Annual performance scorecards.

Local government must become closer to the people.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT REVOLUTION

The Odey-Archibong administration will strengthen Cross River's 18 Local Government Areas by supporting direct access to Local Government allocations in line with constitutional and judicial principles.

Each LGA will have a clear development strategy, measurable priorities and an annual Local Prosperity Plan, focused on the needs of its people.

Through the Cross River Wealth Dashboard, citizens will be able to see how public funds are received and spent, track projects and monitor performance. Every LGA will also publish an annual public scorecard covering budget utilisation, project delivery and service outcomes.

We will promote transparent procurement, competitive bidding and value-for-money, while strengthening local institutions to deliver meaningful development closer to the people.

OUR PLAN : 18 LGAs. One Cross River. Development that reaches every community.

PERFORMANCE-BASED GOVERNMENT

Every ministry and agency will operate with:

- Clear targets.
- Measurable outcomes.
- Regular evaluation.

A project either works or it does not.

A service either reaches citizens or it does not.

Government must be judged by reality.

ANTI-CORRUPTION AS ECONOMIC POLICY

Corruption is not only a moral failure.

It is an economic failure.

Every stolen public resource represents:

- A missed opportunity.
- A delayed project.
- A lost job.
- A poorer community.

Integrity is therefore central to development.

TRANSPARENCY SCORECARD BY 2031

Targets:

- ✔ Fully operational public accountability platform.
- ✔ Regular public reporting.
- ✔ Improved procurement transparency.
- ✔ Reduced financial leakages.
- ✔ Stronger citizen participation.

PILLAR EIGHT

CLIMATE RESILIENCE, ENVIRONMENT AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

PROTECTING OUR PEOPLE, OUR LAND AND OUR FUTURE



Development Must Respect Nature

Cross River is blessed with extraordinary environmental resources.

But climate change, deforestation, flooding, erosion and environmental degradation threaten our future.

A prosperous state must also be a resilient state.

THE ENVIRONMENTAL CHALLENGE

Our communities face:

- Flooding.
- Gully erosion.
- Coastal vulnerability.
- Deforestation.
- Loss of biodiversity.

These challenges affect:

- Farmers.
- Businesses.
- Homes.
- Infrastructure.
- Public health.

Environmental protection is therefore economic protection.

THE CROSS RIVER GREEN RESILIENCE PLAN

The administration will establish a comprehensive programme focused on:

1. Flood and Erosion Management

Through:

- Drainage improvement.
- Watershed management.
- Erosion control.
- Early warning systems.

2. Forest Protection and Sustainable Use

Our forests must generate value without destruction.

We will promote:

- Sustainable forestry.
- Community conservation.
- Agroforestry.
- Climate-smart agriculture.

3. Coastal Protection

Coastal communities require:

- Better planning.
- Environmental monitoring.
- Sustainable fisheries management.

4. Climate-Smart Agriculture

Farmers will receive support for:

- Improved techniques.
- Resilient crops.
- Soil management.
- Sustainable production.

THE GREEN ECONOMY OPPORTUNITY

Environmental protection can create jobs through:

- Renewable energy.
- Waste recycling.
- Conservation services.
- Sustainable agriculture.
- Eco-tourism.

The environment is not an obstacle to prosperity.

It is part of prosperity.

CLIMATE RESILIENCE SCORECARD BY 2031

Targets:

- ✓ Reduced flood vulnerability.
- ✓ Improved drainage systems.
- ✓ Stronger forest protection.
- ✓ Expanded renewable energy.
- ✓ More climate-resilient communities.

PILLAR NINE

A SAFER CROSS RIVER

PEOPLE. COMMUNITIES. OPPORTUNITY.



Security is more than protecting government buildings.

Security means a mother can send her child to school without fear.

It means a farmer can go to the farm, harvest and transport his produce without becoming a target.

It means traders can travel between communities and return home safely.

It means businesses can invest, tourists can visit, fishermen can work on our waterways, and families can sleep knowing that government has the capacity to respond when danger comes.

For Cross River, security must therefore become both a public-safety priority and an economic-development priority.

1. THE CHALLENGE

Cross River is blessed with people, land, waterways, forests, agriculture, tourism and strategic borders.

But our people cannot fully benefit from these advantages when insecurity disrupts everyday life.

Recent security assessments identify communal conflicts over land, cult and gang-related violence, abductions and killings as among the security concerns affecting Cross River. Abductions for ransom have also been reported along waterways connecting Cross River and neighbouring states.

In March 2026, a security-related crisis in Obubra resulted in deaths, displacement and destruction of property, demonstrating how quickly insecurity can damage not only lives but also homes, livelihoods and community stability.

The waterways present another dimension of the challenge. Reports in 2026 described kidnapping and piracy concerns affecting movement and commerce along the Calabar–Oron corridor and other waterways.

The challenge is therefore not simply:

"How do we catch criminals?"

The bigger question is:

How do we build a security system capable of seeing threats earlier, responding faster, protecting communities and reducing the economic conditions that make vulnerable people susceptible to criminal networks?

Cross River needs a security architecture that connects people, intelligence, technology, law enforcement, communities and economic opportunity.

2. WHAT CROSS RIVERIANS DESERVE

Cross Riverians deserve to live without constantly calculating the risks of ordinary life.

They deserve to travel from one Local Government Area to another without fear.

They deserve farmers who can cultivate their land safely.

They deserve traders who can move goods safely.

They deserve fishermen who can work our waterways safely.

They deserve communities where children can grow up knowing that their future is not determined by fear, poverty or criminality.

They deserve a government that does not wait for a crisis before acting.

They deserve early warning instead of late reaction.

They deserve intelligence instead of guesswork.

They deserve rapid response instead of delayed intervention.

And they deserve a government that understands that economic security is part of human security.

Because when families have productive livelihoods, when young people have legitimate opportunities to earn, when farmers can produce and sell profitably, and when communities have functioning markets and businesses, the pool of economic desperation that criminal networks can exploit can be reduced.

This does not mean poverty automatically causes kidnapping or that everyone experiencing hardship becomes criminal. Criminality has multiple causes.

But a state that creates legitimate pathways to work, enterprise and income can reduce vulnerability while simultaneously strengthening law enforcement.

Security and prosperity must therefore be built together.

THE SOLUTION

BUILDING A CROSS RIVER SECURITY ARCHITECTURE BY EMPOWERMENTOF STATE POLICE – A JOHN UPAN ODEY 2027 PLAN

Our security plan will pursue an integrated approach built around:

- **PREVENTION**
- **INTELLIGENCE**
- **TECHNOLOGY**
- **RAPID RESPONSE**
- **COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIP**
- **ECONOMIC SECURITY**

The objective is to move Cross River from a predominantly reactive security model toward a more intelligence-led, technology-enabled and community-connected security system.

The purpose is not to turn Cross River into a surveillance state but to empower state policing with all they need

The purpose is to give law-enforcement agencies better information to detect, verify and respond to threats.

A. STATEWIDE SMART SURVEILLANCE NETWORK

Cross River will develop a coordinated network of security cameras and intelligent surveillance systems at strategic locations.

Technology:

- Artificial-intelligence-enabled cameras
- Closed-circuit television (CCTV) surveillance
- Automatic Number Plate Recognition (ANPR)
- Facial recognition where legally authorised and subject to appropriate safeguards
- Smart sensors
- Digital incident monitoring
- Geographic Information System (GIS) mapping

Priority locations will include:

- Major highways
- Strategic junctions
- Markets
- Transport terminals
- Critical infrastructure
- Major public facilities
- Entry and exit corridors
- High-risk locations
- Selected tourism destinations
- Strategic waterways and river crossings

The purpose is not to turn Cross River into a surveillance state.

The purpose is to give law-enforcement agencies better information to detect, verify and respond to threats.

B. DRONE-ENABLED SECURITY AND EMERGENCY RESPONSE

Cross River's difficult terrain includes forests, waterways and remote communities that can be difficult to monitor using conventional patrols alone.

The state will establish a regulated drone capability for:

- Search and rescue
- Emergency assessment
- Forest and difficult-terrain monitoring
- Waterway surveillance
- Disaster response
- Infrastructure monitoring
- Support for authorised law-enforcement operations

Drones will complement—not replace—human security personnel.

The objective is simple:
See difficult-to-reach areas faster.

C. ONE CROSS RIVER SECURITY COMMAND AND OVERWATCH PLAN

THE OVERWATCH PLAN

Cross River needs the ability to bring information together.

A State Security Command and Overwatch Centre will serve as an integrated coordination platform connecting authorised security and emergency-response agencies.

The centre will monitor:

- Security-camera feeds
- Emergency calls
- Incident reports
- Geographic intelligence
- Drone feeds where authorised
- Traffic and transport information
- Waterway alerts
- Community alerts
- Emergency-service deployments



The objective is to reduce the gap between when a threat is detected and when an appropriate response reaches the location.

The system should also produce regular security intelligence reports showing where incidents are occurring, what types of incidents are increasing and where resources need to be deployed.

D. DIGITAL EMERGENCY AND CITIZEN REPORTING SYSTEM

Cross Riverians should have a safe and accessible way to report emergencies.

A state-supported emergency platform can provide:

Emergency reporting
Anonymous tip submission
Location sharing
Emergency alerts
Missing-person reporting
Community incident reporting
Waterway emergency alerts
Fire and disaster reporting

The system should allow authorities to distinguish between verified incidents, unverified reports and emergencies requiring immediate response.

A citizen should not have to know which security agency to call before asking for help.

One coordinated emergency-access system should direct the report to the appropriate response agency.

E. INTELLIGENT BORDER AND WATERWAY SECURITY

Cross River's geographical position makes land and maritime security important.

Security architecture will therefore include stronger coordination among relevant agencies responsible for:

Land borders
Maritime corridors
Waterways
Ports and transport routes
Immigration and customs-related intelligence
Transnational crime

Recent police and customs engagements in Cross River have already identified intelligence sharing, border surveillance, maritime security, smuggling, piracy and transnational crime as areas requiring stronger cooperation.

Our plan will strengthen the principle:
No security agency should operate as an island.

Information should move securely between authorised agencies so that threats can be identified earlier.

F. COMMUNITY INTELLIGENCE NETWORK

Technology alone cannot secure Cross River.

The people who live in a community often know when something unusual is happening before authorities do.

The plan will therefore strengthen structured community-security partnerships involving:

Traditional institutions
Community leaders
Youth representatives
Women's groups
Farmers
Transport operators
Fishermen
Market associations
Religious and civil-society organisations

The objective is not vigilantism- It is responsible information sharing with authorised security agencies. Communities should become part of the state's early-warning architecture.

G. ECONOMIC SECURITY AS SECURITY POLICY

BUILDING SECURITY FROM THE KITCHEN TABLE TO THE COMMUNITY

A security strategy cannot focus only on guns, patrol vehicles and surveillance cameras.

People also need something to live for.

Cross River's agricultural potential provides an important foundation. The state has already been pursuing agricultural modernization, including value-chain development, farmer support and market linkages.

Recent state reporting on Project Grow highlighted agriculture's role in jobs, food security and rural economic development, while identifying weak market systems, limited finance and weak value-chain linkages as longstanding constraints.

The ODEY-ARCHIBONG 2027 plan will therefore connect economic development with security policy.

THE ECONOMIC SECURITY ARCHITECTURE



Our government will pursue:

- Agricultural value-chain development
- Food-processing enterprises
- Rural enterprise hubs
- Youth enterprise programmes
- Skills development
- Access to finance
- Cooperative development
- Market access
- Storage and logistics
- Fisheries development
- Cocoa, cassava, rice and oil-palm value chains
- Tourism-linked employment
- Small-business development

The principle is:
A secure Cross River must also be an economically productive Cross River.

When a farmer can make a viable income from farming, a young person can build a legitimate livelihood, and a community can generate economic activity, government is addressing some of the vulnerabilities that criminal networks can exploit.

4. THE SECURITY TECHNOLOGY STACK

Odey-Archibong technology-enabled security architecture will include at least these major technology categories:

1. **SMART CCTV AND ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE**

   For monitoring strategic locations, detecting defined security events and supporting investigations.

2. **DRONE SURVEILLANCE**

   For difficult terrain, waterways, emergency response and authorised security operations.

3. **AUTOMATIC NUMBER PLATE RECOGNITION**

   For identifying and tracking vehicles of interest through strategically positioned systems, subject to legal safeguards.

4. **GEOGRAPHIC INFORMATION SYSTEMS**

   For mapping incidents, identifying hotspots, planning patrols and understanding spatial patterns of crime and emergencies.

5. **DIGITAL EMERGENCY RESPONSE TECHNOLOGY**

   For emergency reporting, location sharing, dispatch and incident tracking.

6. **SMART SENSORS AND ALARM SYSTEMS**

   For detecting defined events around critical infrastructure and sensitive facilities.

7. **BIOMETRIC AND IDENTITY TECHNOLOGY**

   For controlled access to sensitive facilities and authorised identity verification, with appropriate privacy and legal safeguards.

8. **SECURE COMMUNICATION AND DATA SYSTEMS**

   For enabling authorised security agencies to share relevant information quickly and securely.

Our research on emerging security technologies in Cross River tourism destinations has identified CCTV, mobile security applications, biometric systems, smart sensors and drones among technologies being used, while also finding that systems can operate in isolation and face challenges including cost, infrastructure, expertise and maintenance.

Therefore, the objective is not simply to buy technology- the objective is to integrate technology into an operational security system.

THE SCORECARD- CROSS RIVER SECURITY BY 2031

By 2031, the John Upan Odey administration will measure progress through publicly reported security indicators.

1. **STATE SECURITY COMMAND**
   Establish and operationalise an integrated State Security Command and Overwatch Centre.
2. **TECHNOLOGY COVERAGE**
   Progressively expand smart surveillance coverage across identified strategic security corridors and public locations.
3. **EMERGENCY RESPONSE**
   Establish measurable response-time standards for priority emergency categories and publish performance against those standards.
4. **WATERWAY SECURITY**
   Establish continuous risk monitoring and coordinated response mechanisms for priority waterways.
5. **COMMUNITY EARLY WARNING**
   Establish structured community intelligence and early-warning networks across all 18 Local Government Areas.
6. **SECURITY AGENCY COORDINATION**
   Create operational protocols for information sharing among authorised security and emergency-response agencies.
7. **CRIME INTELLIGENCE**
   Develop a state-level security intelligence dashboard using verified incident data to identify emerging patterns and priority areas.
8. **ECONOMIC SECURITY**
   Track jobs, enterprise creation, agricultural productivity, food-processing activity and rural-market development as part of the state's broader security and prosperity strategy.
9. **YOUTH OPPORTUNITY**
   Measure participation in skills, enterprise and employment programmes in communities identified as economically vulnerable.
10. **PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY**
    Publish an annual Cross River Security and Community Safety Report showing progress, challenges and areas requiring further intervention.

6. THE PROMISE

WE WILL BUILD A CROSS RIVER WHERE SECURITY IS NOT A PRIVILEGE.

A Cross River where a mother does not have to fear when her child leaves home.

Where a farmer can enter the farm and return safely.

Where traders can move their goods.

Where fishermen can work our waterways.

Where businesses can invest.

Where tourists can explore our state.

Where young people can choose enterprise over criminality because opportunity exists.

Where communities are not forgotten until a crisis occurs.

Where government does not wait for insecurity to become a headline before responding.

We will use technology.

We will strengthen intelligence.

We will support our security agencies.

We will work with communities.

We will secure our waterways and strategic corridors.

We will strengthen the economic foundations of security.

Because the security of Cross River is not only about stopping crime.

It is about protecting life, livelihood, dignity and opportunity.



THE CROSS RIVER PROMISE

The future we seek is clear:
A Cross River where:

- Farmers create wealth.
- Young people find opportunity.
- Businesses can grow.
- Communities have power.
- Roads connect markets.
- Healthcare protects lives.
- Education creates capability.
- Tourism creates prosperity.
- Government earns trust.

This is not a promise of perfection.

It is a commitment to work.

It is a commitment to accountability.

It is a commitment to build systems that outlast individuals.

From dependence to production.
From consumption to creation.
From promises to performance.
From potential to prosperity.

LET CROSS RIVER WORK FOR CROSS RIVERIANS

WE PRODUCE. WE PROCESS. WE PROSPER.



PART V : THE DELIVERY CONTRACT WITH CROSS RIVERIANS- FROM PROMISES TO PERFORMANCE.

THE FIRST 100 DAYS- GOVERNMENT MUST BEGIN WITH ACTION

Cross Riverians have heard many promises.

They have listened to many speeches.

The challenge has never been the absence of ideas.

The challenge has been execution.

The first 100 days of the Cross River Prosperity Government will therefore focus on one objective:

Restore confidence by demonstrating that government can work.

The first 100 days will not be about ceremonies.

They will be about:

- Understanding the true condition of the state.
- Fixing urgent failures.
- Establishing systems for long-term transformation.
- Beginning visible interventions.

THE CROSS RIVER STATE OF THE STATE AUDIT

Within the first 100 days, the government will undertake a comprehensive assessment of:

- State finances.
- Debt obligations.
- Salary and pension liabilities.
- Roads.
- Schools.
- Healthcare facilities.
- Electricity infrastructure.
- Tourism assets.
- Government projects.
- Public institutions.

The purpose is simple:

Government must know the truth before it can solve problems.

The findings will form the foundation of the four-year development programme.

1. WORKERS' TRUST RESTORATION PROGRAMME

Workers are the engine of government.

A government that cannot honour its workers cannot demand excellence from them.

Immediate actions will include:

- Verification of payroll records.
- Review of salary obligations.
- Assessment of pension liabilities.
- Identification of administrative bottlenecks.

The objective:

A government that pays workers consistently and fairly.

2. POWER RECOVERY INITIATIVE

Within 100 days:

The government will establish a Power Delivery Coordination Unit bringing together:

- Electricity regulators.
- Distribution companies.
- Rural electrification partners.
- Renewable energy providers.
- Communities.

Priority attention will be given to communities experiencing prolonged electricity challenges.

The approach:

- Identify failures.
- Assign responsibility.
- Publish timelines.
- Track delivery.

3. AGRICULTURE AND VALUE-CHAIN INVESTMENT SUMMIT

Government will convene:

- Farmers.
- Cooperatives.
- Investors.
- Processors.
- Financial institutions.
- Development partners.

The objective:

Move agriculture from:

Subsistence → Enterprise
Raw production → Processing
Low income → Wealth creation

Priority areas:

- Cocoa.
- Rice.
- Cassava.
- Palm products.
- Fisheries.
- Livestock.

4. CROSS RIVER INVESTMENT AND ASSET RECOVERY DESK

Cross River possesses valuable assets.

The government will establish a professional investment framework to assess and unlock:

- Tourism assets.
- Industrial opportunities.
- Agricultural investments.
- Maritime opportunities.

The focus:

Assets must create value, not remain abandoned.

5. TRANSPARENCY AND PERFORMANCE SYSTEM

Within 100 days:

The government will launch:

The Cross River Performance Dashboard

Citizens will be able to track:

- Projects.
- Budgets.
- Service delivery.
- Development targets.

Government belongs to the people.
The people must see how government works.

THE FIRST YEAR
BUILDING THE FOUNDATION FOR TRANSFORMATION

The first year will focus on establishing systems that deliver lasting change.

POWER

Priority actions:

- Begin rehabilitation of critical electricity infrastructure.
- Expand renewable energy partnerships.
- Support productive power solutions for businesses.
- Improve electricity access in underserved communities.

AGRICULTURE

Priority actions:

- Establish agricultural processing partnerships.
- Support farmer cooperatives.
- Improve storage and aggregation systems.
- Develop export-oriented value chains.

ROADS

Priority actions:

- Begin rehabilitation of economic corridors.
- Improve farm-to-market roads.
- Prioritize infrastructure with economic returns.

HEALTHCARE

Priority actions:

- Upgrade priority primary healthcare facilities.
- Improve medicine availability.
- Expand maternal and child health services.
- Strengthen healthcare workforce.

EDUCATION AND JOBS

Priority actions:

- Begin school rehabilitation.
- Establish digital learning programmes.
- Expand technical training.
- Launch youth employment initiatives.

TOURISM

Priority actions:

- Begin Obudu tourism renewal.
- Strengthen eco-tourism destinations.
- Develop tourism investment partnerships.
- Support creative industries.

GOVERNANCE

Priority actions:

- Operationalize transparency systems.
- Strengthen procurement processes.
- Improve public financial management.

THE FOUR-YEAR DELIVERY SCORECARD

WHAT CROSS RIVERIANS SHOULD EXPECT BY 2031

Leadership must be measurable.

Citizens should judge government by outcomes.

The Cross River Prosperity Government will therefore be accountable to the following targets:

1. ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

By 2031:

- ✓ Increased local processing of agricultural products.
- ✓ More private-sector investment.
- ✓ Higher farmer incomes.
- ✓ Stronger small business ecosystem.
- ✓ Greater wealth retained within Cross River.

2. JOB CREATION

Target:

50,000 productive jobs created

Across:

- Digital economy.
- Agriculture.
- Tourism.
- Manufacturing.
- Creative industries.
- Technical services.

Jobs will be measured by economic activity, not political appointments.

3. POWER

Targets:

- ✓ Improved electricity access.
- ✓ Expansion of renewable energy solutions.
- ✓ Reliable power support for schools and healthcare facilities.
- ✓ Reduced dependence on diesel-powered businesses.

4. HEALTHCARE

Targets:

- ✓ Functional primary healthcare system.
- ✓ Better maternal and child health outcomes.
- ✓ Improved access to medicines.
- ✓ Expanded health insurance participation.

5. EDUCATION

Targets:

- ✓ Better school infrastructure.
- ✓ Improved teacher support.
- ✓ Expanded digital learning.
- ✓ Stronger technical education.
- ✓ Better connection between education and employment.

6. TOURISM

Targets:

- ✓ Obudu repositioned as a major tourism destination.
- ✓ Stronger eco-tourism economy.
- ✓ More local participation in tourism revenue.
- ✓ Expansion of creative industries.

7. GOVERNANCE

Targets:

- ✓ Transparent budgeting.
- ✓ Public project monitoring.
- ✓ Improved efficiency.
- ✓ Stronger accountability.

IMPLEMENTATION FRAMEWORK

HOW THE PLAN WILL WORK

Good policies fail without implementation.

The Cross River Prosperity Agenda will be supported by:

1. DELIVERY MANAGEMENT OFFICE

A professional delivery structure will monitor:

- Targets.
- Timelines.
- Budgets.
- Performance.

Government must manage implementation like a serious institution.

2. PUBLIC REPORTING

Quarterly reports will communicate:

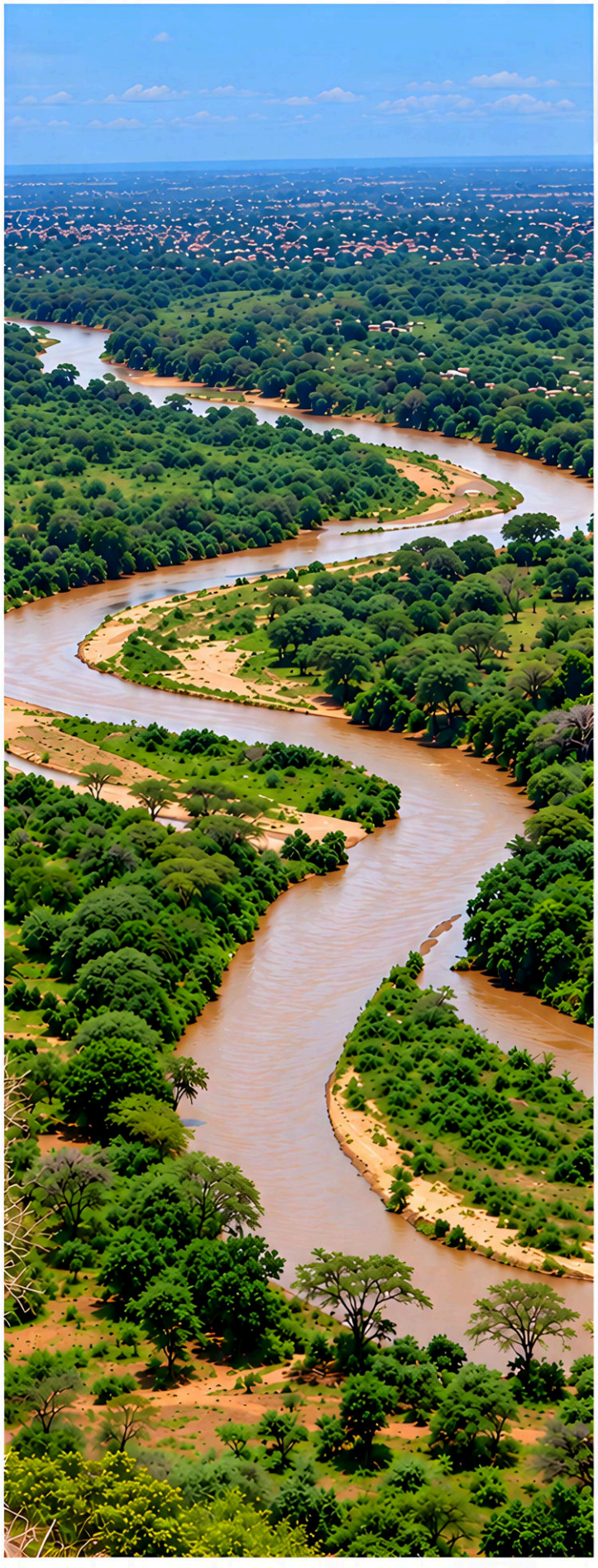
- What has been achieved.
- What remains outstanding.
- What corrective actions are required.

3. PARTNERSHIPS

Transformation requires collaboration with:

- Federal Government.
- Private sector.
- Development institutions.
- Diaspora investors.
- Communities.

Government cannot build prosperity alone. But government must create the environment where prosperity grows.





A FINAL COVENANT WITH CROSS RIVERIANS

THE CROSS RIVER WE WILL BUILD

There are three Cross Rivers:

- The Cross River we inherited.
- The Cross River we experience today.
- The Cross River we can build together.

THE CROSS RIVER WE INHERITED

A state blessed with:

- Fertile land.
- Natural resources.
- A beautiful coastline.
- Tourism assets.
- Talented people.
- Rich culture.

THE CROSS RIVER WE EXPERIENCE TODAY

A state where:

- Farmers produce but struggle to prosper.
- Young people leave in search of opportunity.
- Businesses struggle with infrastructure challenges.
- Communities wait too long for basic services.
- Government potential does not match citizen experience.

THE CROSS RIVER WE WILL BUILD

A state where:

- Farmers become entrepreneurs.
- Young people become creators.
- Businesses can grow.
- Workers receive their salaries.
- Communities benefit from tourism.
- Electricity powers productivity.
- Roads connect opportunity.
- Healthcare protects lives.
- Government earns trust.

OUR PROMISE

We will not promise miracles.
We will promise hard work.

We will not promise perfection.
We will promise accountability.

We will not ask Cross Riverians for blind faith.
We will ask them to judge us by results.

THE FRESH START

From dependence to **productivity.**
From consumption to creation.
From potential to prosperity.
From promises to performance.

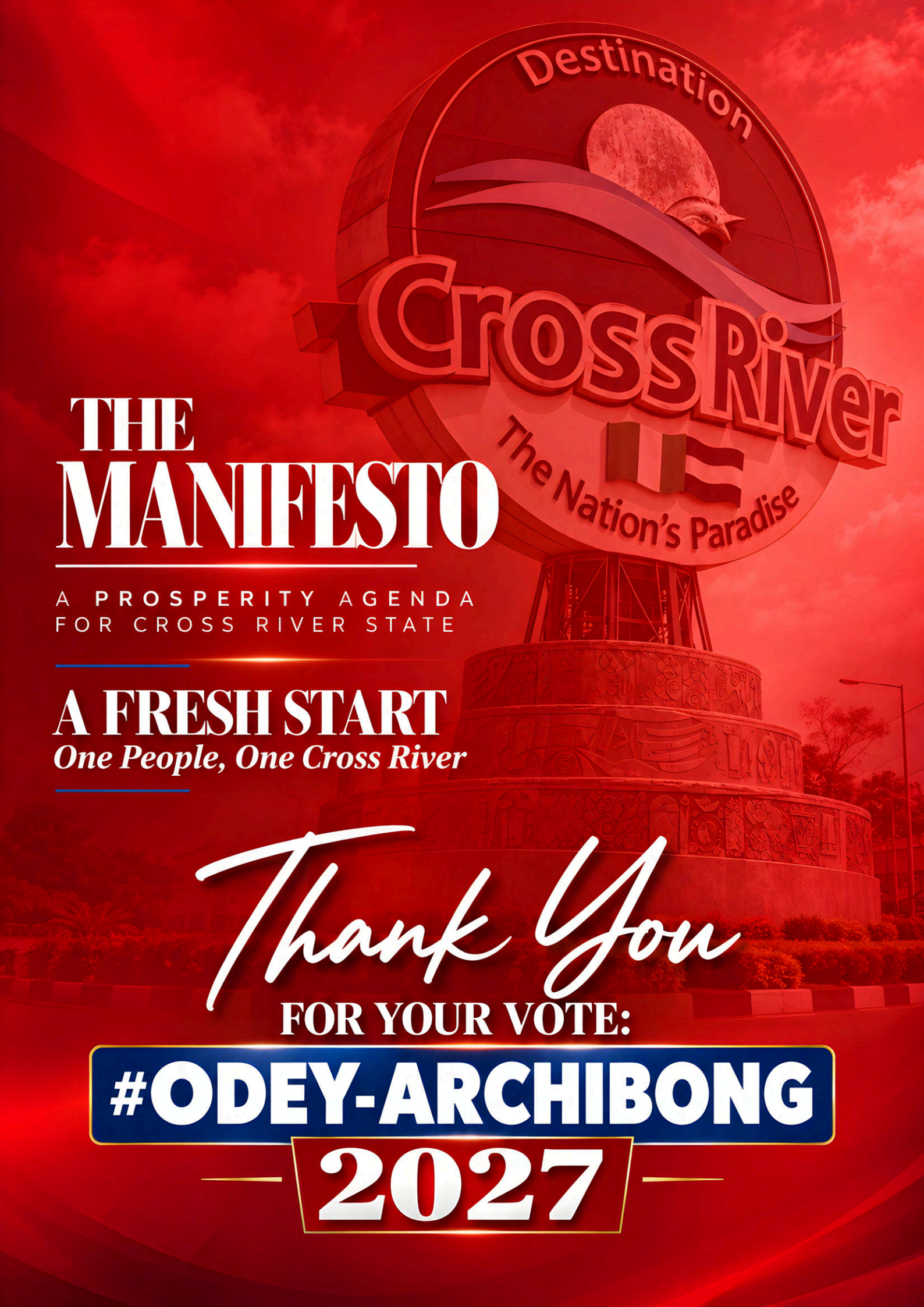
LET CROSS RIVER WORK FOR CROSS RIVERIANS

WE PRODUCE. WE PROCESS. WE PROSPER.

OUR FUTURE IS

JUO-TIFIED.





THE MANIFESTO

A PROSPERITY AGENDA
FOR CROSS RIVER STATE

A FRESH START

One People, One Cross River

Thank You

FOR YOUR VOTE:

#ODEY-ARCHIBONG

2027